CENTER ON URBAN & METROPOLITAN POLICY
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Latino Growth in Metropolitan America:
Changing Patterns, New Locations

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"Clearly, the growth of the Latino population is no longer limited to just a few regions."

Findings

An analysis of the U.S. Hispanic population across the 100 largest metropolitan areas finds that:

- **The Hispanic population is growing in most metropolitan areas, but the rate and location of increase varies widely. Four distinct patterns of growth can be discerned.** *Established Latino metros* such as New York, Los Angeles, Miami, and Chicago posted the largest absolute increases in Latinos between 1980 and 2000. However, new *Latino destinations* like Atlanta and Orlando charted the fastest growth rates, despite their historically smaller Hispanic bases. Metros with relatively larger Latino bases, such as Houston, Phoenix and San Diego, meanwhile, became *fast-growing Latino hubs* during the past 20 years, with population growth averaging 235 percent. *Small Latino places,* such as Baton Rouge, posted much lower absolute and relative growth than the other locales.
- **Fifty-four percent of all U.S. Latinos now reside in the suburbs; the Latino suburban population grew 71 percent in the 1990s.** In 1990 the central-city and suburban Hispanic populations in the 100 largest metros were nearly identical, but during the next decade suburban growth so outpaced central-city growth that by 2000 the suburban Hispanic population exceeded the central-city population by 18 percent. New Latino destinations saw the fastest growth of Latino suburbanites.
- **Hispanic men outnumber Hispanic women by 17 percent in new Latino destination metros where the Latino population grew fastest.** By contrast, in slower-growing metros with large and well-established Latino communities, more Hispanics live in family households and gender ratios are more balanced.

I. Introduction

No shortage of analysis has described the fast and widespread growth of the Latino population in America. Numerous early commentators on Census 2000 remarked on the speed of the Latinos' dispersal across the country, noting that the Hispanics had become the fastest growing U.S. minority group as they increased their numbers 58 percent during the 1990s—from 22.4 million

to 35.3 million during the decade.[1] At the same time, analysts observed that Hispanic Americans had quickly become, at 12.5 percent of the population in 2000, the largest ethnic/race group in the country, barely edging out African Americans at 12.3 percent.

Recent research on metropolitan areas has sharpened the picture somewhat, adding detail to the story of the Hispanics' rise. An earlier Brookings Institution study showed that growth in the Hispanic population in the 100 largest U.S. cities was swift and substantial in the 1990s, and that one-fifth of those cities' populations would have declined in the decade were it not for an influx of Latinos (Berube 2001). And another study of the nation's suburbs identified growing racial and ethnic diversity in suburban areas (Frey 2001). In particular, the suburbs of very diverse metropolitan areas saw substantial growth in their Latino population in the 1990s.

Still, important questions remain about how Latinos redistributed across and within metropolitan areas in the 1980s and 1990s. To be sure, the Hispanic population grew quickly in most of the nation's metropolitan areas between the 1980 Census and the 2000 count. In 2000, 69 percent of the U.S. population lived in the 100 largest metropolitan areas, whereas the share of the Latino population in the same metros was 78 percent. But even so, the magnitude and distribution of Hispanic population growth in the 100 largest U.S. metropolitan areas varied widely both in absolute numbers and in key characteristics.

For example, the growth of the Hispanic population averaged 145 percent in the largest 100 metros between 1980 and 2000, but that average obscures a huge range of growth rates. The rate was 8 percent for Honolulu, HI; 105 percent for Los Angeles; and 1,180 percent for Raleigh, NC. In addition, more than a quarter of the Latinos in the top 100 metro areas—some 9 million Hispanics—continued to reside in the great magnets of Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, and Miami in 2000. However, the booming economy of the 1990s coupled with recent industrial restructuring in both urban and rural areas redrew the map of Latino America during the decade (see Kandel and Parrado, 2002 for an analysis of nonmetropolitan Latino growth patterns). In many instances, such developments attracted Latino workers to places where there had been little previous in-migration.

This paper explores several geographic and temporal variations of Hispanic growth. First, we propose a typology that distinguishes among several different metropolitan growth patterns based on Census data covering 1980 to 2000. Then, we supplement this categorization by isolating and identifying two key Latino-growth sub-trends in metropolitan areas during the 1990s—a period when the national Hispanic population more than doubled.

The findings that result show clearly that the Latino population is rapidly evolving and that its demographic impact on the nation is changing quickly. Significant concentrations of Hispanics are no longer confined to a few regions such as Southern California or the Southwest, or only to a few cities like New York and Miami. Instead, in the coming years Hispanic population growth will most impact communities that had relatively few Latinos a decade ago.

In fact, looking back at Hispanic demographic trends over the past twenty years reveals that Latinos have spread out faster than any previous immigrant or internal migration wave, such as that of the African-Americans who migrated out of the deep South in the middle of the century.

The Latino population has, for example, grown in heartland cities beyond the immigrant gateways in much less time than it took for the European immigrants who arrived at the beginning of the 20th century. Similarly, trends evident now could have a significant impact on cities like Atlanta or Washington, D.C. that had a sparse Hispanic presence only a couple of decades ago. What is more, change will occur even in the traditional settlement areas like Los Angeles and New York where growth will likely continue, albeit at a slower rate. There, the Latinos have already begun to become a pervasive presence on the suburban fringes of the big cities.

In short, the report that follows identifies the distinguishing characteristics of several distinct variations on the theme of Latino growth. Clearly, the growth of the Latino population is no longer limited to just a few regions.

II. Methodology

This study revolves around a categorization of Hispanic population growth rates—derived from U.S. Census data[2]—as they were observed across a series of standard geographical locales consisting of the nation's 100 largest metropolitan areas as of 2000.

Definition of Hispanic or Latino

The terms "Hispanic" and "Latino" are used interchangeably in this paper and reflect both popular use of the terms and the new Office of Management and Budget (OMB) terminology standards in effect for Census 2000. While most Latinos in the United States share a common linguistic heritage—Spanish—the Hispanic population includes a diversity of birthplace, national origin, legal status, socioeconomic class, and settlement histories. Census 2000 asked separate questions on race and Hispanic or Latino ethnicity. Persons were asked to identify whether they were of "Spanish/Hispanic/Latino" origin. This question was independent of the race question which asked people to identify whether they were white, black, Asian, American Indian, Native Hawaiian or "some other race," and persons could mark as many categories as they identified. Therefore, persons of Hispanic or

Latino origins may be of any race. This analysis includes Latinos who were born abroad as well as those born in the United States.[3]

Metropolitan Area Definitions
This study analyzes change in the Hispanic population during the 1980s and 1990s among the largest 100 metropolitan areas. The metropolitan areas analyzed are those defined by OMB as Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) and Primary Metropolitan Statistical Areas (PMSAs). The 2000 metropolitan area definition was applied consistently to data from each decade.

Definitions of Central City and Suburbs
Central cities are defined in this study, largely in accordance with OMB standards, as the largest city in the metropolitan area in combination with any other city of over 100,000 (in 2000) that is part of the official MSA name.[4] The suburbs are the portion of the metropolitan area that is located outside the central city or cities.

Four Categories of Metropolitan Areas
Finally, for the purpose of this analysis we have classified the metropolitan areas into four categories according to whether their Hispanic base population exceeded or lagged the 8-percent national average in 1980 and whether their Latino population growth exceeded or lagged the 145-percent average growth between 1980 and 2000 for the 100 metros. Table 1 employs this typology to categorize the nation's metropolitan areas as distinct types of Latino-growth settings.

At several points the paper also distinguishes areas that saw extraordinarily rapid growth, or "hypergrowth," defined here as growth more than twice the national average rate for metropolitan areas, or more than 300 percent in the 20-year period.

A final note: We use 1980 to 200 data to construct our typology; however, we use 1980–2000 data to construct our typology, however, the rest of the analysis examines primarily 1990 and 2000 data only.

III. Findings

A. The Hispanic population is growing in most metropolitan areas, but the rate and location of that growth varies widely. Four distinct patterns of Latino growth can be discerned.
The Latino population grew quickly in the nation's metropolitan areas between 1980 and 2000, yet not all places grew in the same way. To the contrary: Wide variations in the rate and location of Latino growth are generating highly distinct local experiences in different types of metropolitan areas.

Four types of metropolitan settings for Latino growth can be discerned (see Appendix A for a full list of the 100 metros, grouped by type and rate of population increase).

ESTABLISHED LATINO METROS (Large Base/Slow Growth): 16 metros
Sixteen major metros constitute a kind of Hispanic heartland in America. This category of metro contains all the major contemporary immigrant gateways such as New York, Los Angeles, Miami, and Chicago as well as a variety of western, southwestern and border metros with large, long-standing Latino communities (see Table 2 for the 10 metros with the largest Hispanic populations in 2000).

Half of the U.S. Latino population across the 100 largest metros lived in these 16 established Latino metropolises in 2000 (see Figure 1 for a distribution of the population across metros). In absolute numbers, these

Table 1. Latino Population and Share of Overall Population Growth for Four Metropolitan Area Types, 1980–2000
100 Largest Metropolitan Areas

	1980			1990			2000			% Change in Latino Population			Latinos as a percent
Metropolitan Area Type	Total	Latino	% Latino	Total	Latino	% Latino	Total	Latino	% Latino	1980-90	1990-00	1980–00	of overall growth
Established Latino Metros	35,161,592	7,180,206	20%	39,098,721	10,286,158	26%	43,957,950	14,119,006	32%	43%	37%	97%	79%
New Latino Destinations	54,800,178	1,309,221	2%	62,620,505	2,333,640	4%	73,078,851	5,282,035	7%	78%	126%	303%	22%
Fast-Growing Latino Hubs	14,418,567	2,033,540	14%	19,395,646	3,801,089	20%	24,485,665	6,818,961	28%	87%	79%	235%	48%
Small Latino Places	30,666,478	666,145	2%	30,719,535	811,802	3%	31,946,791	1,203,339	4%	22%	48%	81%	42%
Total	135,046,815	11,189,112	8%	151,834,407	17,232,689	11%	173,469,257	27,423,341	16%	54%	59%	145%	42%

Table 2. Ten Metro Areas with The Largest Latino Populations, 2000

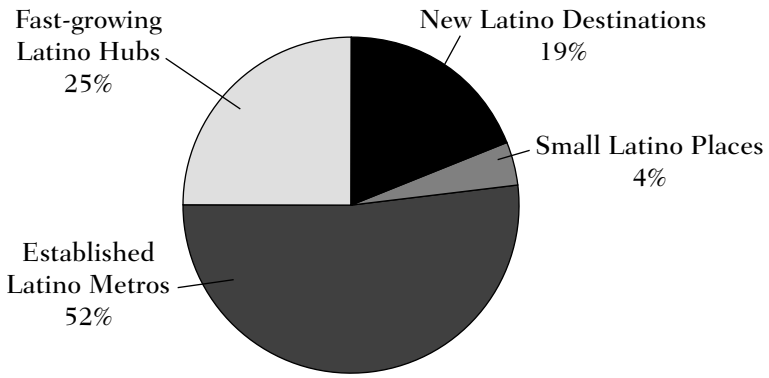
	Number of Latinos	Percent of Total Population	Latino Growth, 1980–2000
Los Angeles	4,242,213	45%	105%
New York	2,339,836	25%	60%
Chicago	1,416,584	17%	143%
Miami	1,291,737	57%	123%
Houston	1,248,586	30%	211%
Riverside—San Bernadino	1,228,962	38%	324%
Orange County	875,579	31%	206%
Phoenix	817,012	25%	261%
San Antonio	816,037	51%	67%
Dallas	810,499	23%	324%
Total	**15,087,045**	**31%**	**130%**

major Latino centers started out with by far the largest stock of Hispanics in 1980 (7.2 million Latinos lived in them then), and experienced by far the greatest numerical growth in numbers, as they added 6.9 million Latinos to their populations by 2000. Moreover, just three cities—Los Angeles, New York and Chicago—dominated this growth. Those three metros accounted for more than half of the growth among established Latino metros as they added 3.9 million additional Latinos. Notably, New York's rate of growth was virtually the same in the 1980s and 1990s, Chicago had greater growth in the 1990s than the 1980s, while Los Angeles' share grew faster in the 1980s than in the 1990s.

The 97 percent rate of Hispanic growth in these metros over 20 years, meanwhile, lagged that in many other metros. But meanwhile, the rate of Latino population growth there was four times greater than the below-average 25-percent growth in their overall populations. As a result, the 6.9 million Latinos added in this category between 1980 and 2000 represented 79 percent of the overall population growth in these areas (Table 1). Consequently, the population growth that did occur in these metros owed largely to the Latinos.

These established centers have the highest concentrations of Latinos among all metro types. Hispanics made up 20 percent of the population in these 16 metros in 1980 but by 2000 the figure had hit 32 percent. Size and Latino concentration, meanwhile, seem to have had an inverse effect on the rate of Hispanic growth. Three of the eight cities where Latinos were 40 percent or more of the population in 2000 experienced markedly slower Hispanic growth in the 1990s than in the 1980s. In Los Angeles, for example, the Hispanic growth rate fell from 60 percent to 28 percent, and in Miami it decreased from 64 percent in the 1980s to 36 percent in the 1990s. These data suggest that Los Angeles and Miami in particular could be approaching a saturation point where shortages of housing and jobs may put a brake on Hispanic population growth.

Figure 1. Latino Population for Four Metropolitan Area Types, 2000



NEW LATINO DESTINATIONS (Small Base/Fast Growth): 51 metros

Just over one-half of the largest 100 metropolitan areas in America posted explosive growth of their initially small Latino communities between 1980 and 2000. This growth of these *new Latino destinations* reflects an astonishing and very rapid entrance of the

Hispanic population into new settlement areas.

From Wilmington to West Palm Beach, from Little Rock to Las Vegas, the new Latino destinations encompass a diverse collection of metropolitan areas scattered across 35 states in every region of the country. Within these 51 metros the Hispanic population grew at rates ranging from 147 percent (Knoxville) to 1,180 percent (Raleigh-Durham) over the 20 years. In 2000, 19 percent of all Hispanics among those in the largest 100 metros lived in these 51 metros.

The Hispanic growth rates for these metros must be understood in the context of rather modest absolute numbers. Their fast growth began from very small initial populations generally, and so even extraordinary high growth rates usually did not involve large numbers of individuals. Across this category the initial 1980 Latino populations remained quite small. Sarasota, FL, for example, registered an astounding 538 percent increase in its Hispanic population between 1980 and 2000, but it began this period with a mere six thousand Latino residents. Even after 20 years of extraordinary growth Sarasota only had 38,682 Latinos, and that was in a state with a Hispanic population of 2.7 million.

Nevertheless, so much rapid growth spread out across so many metros emerges as a demographic phenomenon of consequence when it is viewed cumulatively. In 1980, 19 of these metros counted fewer than 10,000 Latinos, and only six had more than 50,000. But by 2000 only two remained below the 10,000 mark while 16 had more than 100,000. Add it up and the Latino population of all 51 of these metros in 2000 reaches 5.3 million—or 19 percent of the nation's total Latino population (see Figure 1). And the Latinization of the new destinations is becoming more consequential, even though the total for the entire category pales beside the huge absolute populations of the big metros with longstanding Latino populations. In fact, the total for these metros is just a bit smaller than the combined Latino populations of Los Angeles and Miami. Fully three-quarters of the Hispanics in these 51 metros (4 million people) were added to the population between 1980 and 2000. That accounts for about a quarter of the total Hispanic population growth measured in all the 100 top metros during that period.

The sheer pace of this mostly very recent growth is also noteworthy. In 1980 Latinos made up 2 percent of the population of these 51 metros but by 2000 they were 7 percent of the population in this category. In all but eleven of these metros the rate of growth for the Hispanic population in the 1990s outstripped that in the 1980s, and in many cases it was substantially greater, at least doubling in 28 metros from one decade to the next. None of the *new Latino destinations* experienced a Hispanic growth rate of less than 42 percent in the 1990's.

Another significant factor: This rapid Latino growth in new destinations usually accompanied rapid increases in the overall population. In these metropolitan areas, Latinos comprised only one factor in broader growth trends across metros that saw a 42-percent total growth over the 20-year period as all but seven registered growth rates in the double digits. In this fashion, the new Hispanic residents in these places accounted for just 22 percent of the increased population. By comparison, in metros with established Latino communities, Hispanics comprised by far the largest, and in some cases the only, factor in population growth, accounting for 79 percent of the overall population increase (see Table 1).

Eighteen of the *new Latino destinations,* finally, warrant discussion as sites of "hypergrowth." In each of these 18 metros, the Hispanic population grew by more than 300 percent—or twice the national average—after 1980. Altogether, the combined Hispanic population of all these metros jumped 505 percent between 1980 and 2000 (see Table 3 for the 18 hypergrowth locations and their growth trends).

This collection of metros includes emerging immigrant gateways such as Washington and Atlanta and several of the nation's fastest-growing metros such as Las Vegas and Orlando. Eleven of these metros lie in the Southeast, with three North Carolina cities—Charlotte, Greensboro and Raleigh—epitomizing the "new economy" of the 1990s with rapid development in the finance, business services, and high-tech sectors. As a group, these Latino "hypergrowth" metros grew robustly from 1980 to 2000, posting overall population growth at a combined 54-percent rate over the two decades. All but 5 of the 18 had faster overall growth in the 1990s than the 1980s, moreover. As a result, even the explosive new Latino growth in these cities remained a relatively modest portion of the overall population increase despite its incredible pace. In absolute terms, after all, the "hypergrowth" metros added a relatively modest 2.3 million Latinos between 1980 and 2000 at a time when their overall population increased by 11.2 million. Hispanics, in short, represented just 20 percent of the overall population increase.

But even so, the "hypergrowth" metros epitomized the sudden arrival of Latinos in new destinations. In 13 of these "hypergrowth" metros in 1980 Hispanics represented 3 percent or less of their metro populations or one-quarter of a million Latinos, but by 2000 they numbered nearly 1.5 million and represented 6 percent of their collective overall populations. This underscores how, from a barely measurable minority, Latinos grew into a significant segment of the population in many places. Atlanta provides a case in point. There, the 24,550 Latinos counted in 1980 represented just 1 percent of the metro population.

Table 3. "Hypergrowth"* New Latino Destinations, 2000

	Number of Latinos	Percent of Total Population	Latino Growth, 1980–2000
Raleigh	72,580	6%	1180%
Atlanta	268,851	7%	995%
Greensboro	62,210	5%	962%
Charlotte	77,092	5%	932%
Orlando	271,627	17%	859%
Las Vegas	322,038	21%	753%
Nashville	40,139	3%	630%
Fort Lauderdale	271,652	17%	578%
Sarasota	38,682	7%	538%
Portland	142,444	7%	437%
Greenville	26,167	3%	397%
West Palm Beach	140,675	12%	397%
Washington, DC	432,003	9%	346%
Indianapolis	42,994	3%	338%
Minneapolis-St. Paul	99,121	3%	331%
Fort Worth	309,851	18%	328%
Providence	93,868	8%	325%
Tulsa	38,570	5%	303%
Total	**2,750,564**	**9%**	**505%**

**Hypergrowth metros had Latino population growth over 300 percent between 1980 and 2000.*

But after 20 years marked by a 995 percent growth rate, Atlanta's Latino population reached 268,851—or 7 percent of the total (see Table 3).

FAST-GROWING LATINO HUBS (Large Base/Fast Growth): 11 metros

Eleven metros—the *fast-growing Latino hubs*—grew at extraordinary rates from very large base populations, and now supplement the *established Latino metros* as major population centers on the map of Hispanic America.

Latinos made up a sizable 14 percent of the population in these metros in 1980, and over the next 20 years the Hispanic population grew by 235 percent to reach fully 25 percent of the 100 metros' overall population.

With the exception of Phoenix, the metros in this category lie in California or Texas. Two—Orange County and Riverside-San Bernardino—are suburban outliers of Los Angeles, and a third—Vallejo—is an exurb in the San Francisco Bay area. Three others—Bakersfield, Stockton and Sacramento—lie in central California and reflect that state's growth away from the traditional coastal areas. All of the California metros grew at a faster rate in the 1980s than in the 1990s, while the opposite is true of the Texas and Arizona metros. Dallas and Houston, the two biggest metros in Texas, fit that pattern. So does Austin, one of several metros in this category that experienced exceptional economic growth in the high-tech sector. Dallas and Riverside-San Bernardino—even with their large initial Hispanic populations—met the standard for hypergrowth with increases of 358 percent and 324 percent respectively between 1980 and 2000. By 2000, some 6.8 million Hispanic people lived in one of these metros.

The *fast-growing Latino hubs,* meanwhile, assumed new functions in Hispanic America during the last two decades, by moving beyond the status of secondary way stations. Aside from Houston and San Diego, none of these metropolitan areas have played a longstanding role as a major gateway for Latino immigrants. Bakersfield and Stockton were initially places where agricultural workers settled when they left the fields for the stability of city life. Orange County and Riverside-San Bernardino served as secondary stops for Hispanics who had already passed through Los Angeles. However, the rapid rates of Latino population growth since the 1980s suggest these metros have emerged as immigrant ports of entry even as they retained—and perhaps enlarged—their importance as secondary destinations.

Two other aspects of the growing hubs' emergence are these metros' initially lower Hispanic concentrations (compared to the *established Latino metros*), and their high overall growth rates.

Initially, the fast-growing hubs posted an average total population of 1.3 million and a Latino population share of 14 percent. By contrast, the more established Hispanic metros that grew more slowly over the next 20 years had a larger average total population of 2.2 million and a significantly

higher 20-percent Hispanic population share. The faster-growing new hubs may in this regard have had more room to grow before approaching a potential saturation point.

At the same time, the overall population growth rates in the newer hubs far exceeded those in the *established Latino metros* with Latino populations of a million or more—Los Angeles, New York, Chicago and Miami. In fact, the *fast-growing Latino hubs* exhibited the highest rate of overall population growth of any of the four types of metropolitan areas. Altogether, the combined total population of these 11 metros grew by 70 percent between 1980 and 2000. In absolute numbers that represented an increase of 10 million people—4.8 million of whom were Latinos. By contrast, the established Hispanic metros posted a 25 percent overall 20-year growth rate as they added just 8.8 million people and 6.9 million Latinos.

These figures suggest once again that Latino growth in the fast-growing Hispanic hubs remains just one element of a more generalized economic and population expansion. In these hubs, after all, Latino growth represented just 48 percent of the regions' overall 20-year growth. By comparison, Hispanics accounted for 79 percent of the total growth in the more established metros. Such ratios underscore that the high overall growth rates in these big fast-growing metros stimulated and facilitated fast Latino growth much as it did in the smaller-scale new destinations such as Atlanta and Charlotte.

SMALL LATINO PLACES (Small Base/Slow Growth): 22 metros

About a quarter of the 100 metros in this survey, finally, remained largely on the periphery of major Hispanic growth trends. These cities were mostly located in the South and Midwest, though a number can be found in the Northeastern Rust Belt. As a group, these cities harbored relatively few Latinos in 1980, and registered only slow to moderate growth in their Hispanic populations over the 20-year period 1980 to 2000.

In terms of absolute numbers, Hispanics made up only 4 percent of the population in these regions in 2000 compared to a 16-percent overall Hispanic population share in the 100 metros. In fact, less than 1.3 million Hispanics lived in these 22 metros in 2000. All told, only 4 percent of the Hispanic population of the 100 largest metros resided in the *small Latino places* in 2000 (see Figure 1).

Latino growth in these metro areas also lagged, reaching only 81 percent compared to the national 145 percent growth rate for the 100 metros. What is more, the relatively low Hispanic population growth in these places corresponded with the below-average total metro population growth (4 percent) between 1980 and 2000 in these metros. In this fashion, the *small Latino places* illustrate the extent to which Latino population growth remains a subset of growth trends for all groups. In these places, for example, it seems that the same factors discouraging population growth by other groups discouraged expansion of the Hispanic population to some degree.

B. Fifty-four percent of all Latinos now reside in the suburbs; the number of Latinos living in suburban areas grew by 71 percent in the 1990s.

U.S. Hispanics traditionally have been urban dwellers and many remain so now. Nevertheless, Census 2000 reveals that their distribution across the metropolitan landscape is changing dramatically. The Latinos, in short, are becoming suburbanites.

In 1990 the Latino population was almost evenly split between suburbs (8.7 million) and central cities (8.6 million) in the top 100 metropolitan areas. However, Hispanics flocked to the suburbs during the 1990s. During the decade their numbers there increased by 6.2 million to nearly 15 million as compared with a four million increase to 12.6 million in the central cities. These changes implied a 71 percent increase in the number of Latinos living in the suburbs. All told, the suburbs accounted for 61 percent of the overall growth of the Hispanic population in these metros between 1990 and 2000 (see Appendix B). By 2000, 54 percent of all Latinos resided in the suburbs.

Many Hispanics, by choosing the suburbs, are following the familiar path from city neighborhoods to the urban periphery. In addition, some suburban areas are serving as ports of entry for newly arriving immigrants. This holds both for metros with long-standing Hispanic populations and for those with newly acquired Latino communities, though suburban growth was disproportionably higher in *the new Latino destinations.* Moreover, some of the cities with the largest Hispanic populations—notably Los Angeles, New York and Miami—also saw very substantial increases in adjoining jurisdictions. From Long Island on the East Coast to the Southern California's Inland Empire, Latino populations grew both at a rapid rate and in substantial numbers on the outer fringes of major metropolitan areas.

Disproportionate increases in the suburban Latino population are most evident in metros that experienced very rapid growth of their Latino populations overall and especially in those with a relatively small base population in 1990. Overall, 56 percent of the Hispanic growth in metros with established Latino communities occurred in the suburbs. For example, in Albuquerque, San Antonio and San Jose—metros with large base populations and relatively slow growth—fewer Latinos were added to the suburban population than in central cities. Meanwhile, in new-destination metros, the suburbs registered 70 percent of the growth. In Washington, D.C., Atlanta, and Fort Lauderdale—metros that started with

a small base population and experienced very rapid growth—more than 90 percent of the increase came in the suburbs. When Latino migrants ventured into new communities in the 1990's, the suburbs apparently held a powerful draw. In the future, as these migrant pioneers draw relatives from abroad, new, larger family units are likely to form in the suburbs.

Even when large well-established Latino communities were available for settlement, much of the growth took place on the periphery of the metropolitan area. Indeed, in the metros with the largest Hispanic populations, which were also some of the nation's most populous metros, substantial growth took place beyond the central cities. In the Chicago metropolitan area, for example, 63 percent of the growth took place in the suburbs and in Miami it was 96 percent.

Moreover, these big cities formed the core of regional clusters as the Hispanic population grew substantially in adjoining or nearby metros. The trend also prevailed in other regions. The Latino populations of Bergen-Passaic, NJ and Nassau-Suffolk, NY, which adjoin New York to the east and west, together added some 218,000 Latinos between 1990 and 2000. Along the coast north of Miami, the population of the Fort Lauderdale and West Palm Beach metropolitan areas together increased by 242,000 Latinos. In each case the outlying metros of the cluster grew faster than did the core metro, though not in absolute terms. In Southern California, meanwhile, the peripheral growth actually outpaced more central growth by all measures. There, the Orange County, Ventura, and Riverside-San Bernardino metropolitan areas added 950,000 Latinos, which exceeded the growth in the Los Angeles-Long Beach metro both in absolute numbers and the pace of growth.

These patterns suggest that even as Hispanic growth slows in the big metros with very large Latino communities, those areas continue to serve as powerful magnets for a broader metropolitan region. Also, these patterns may reveal what other data indicate—namely, that while newly arrived immigrants still head for the more traditional ports of entry in large numbers, many better-established Latinos are moving away from those traditionally Hispanic communities to new areas within the same metropolitan cluster.

C. Hispanic men outnumber Hispanic women by 17 percent in the new Latino destination metros, where the Latino population grew fastest.

Distinctive Latino local household structures are also emerging as demographic change affects different metropolitan areas. Most notably, the newest areas of Latino settlement exhibit gender ratios that favor men and gain more non-family households. By contrast, in places where the local Hispanic community has become larger and better established, family households develop and gender ratios balance out.

Prior research has shown how these dynamics work: The gender composition of migration to a particular place changes with the "maturity" of the flow to that area (see Durand and Massey 1992). Historically, male immigrants from Latin America typically move toward opportunity first, without spouses or other nuclear family members. Subsequently, relatives and friends follow the immigrants, so that complete family units and eventually extended family and friendship networks form in the years and decades following initial settlement.

In this fashion, gender ratios suggest the newness of settlement. Gender ratios that favor men indicate growth due to new migration flows and demarcate the newest areas of settlement. By contrast, metropolitan areas with older Latino communities typically show more balanced gender ratios since over time full families, and eventually a U.S.-born third-generation join the male "trailblazers." Nor does this dynamic apply only to the immigration of the foreign-born. It also applies to the movement of immigrants from one area within the United States to another in what is termed "secondary" migration. Even in metros where the Latino presence dates back 50 or 100 years or more, successive waves of immigrant newcomers continually refresh the Latino population, producing continuous demographic change and layering of the family structure and household composition.

Given these dynamics, Hispanic and non-Hispanic sex ratios (reflecting the number of men in a given population per 100 women) were calculated for all metropolitan areas and the subtotals for metro types are shown in Table 4. The patterns are clear. Overall, less-mobile, non-Hispanic populations included greater numbers of working-age women in 2000, while the reverse was true for Hispanic populations. The non-Latino sex ratio rises to above 100 (indicating a tilt toward more men than women) in only a handful of metros, namely those with military bases such as San Diego and El Paso, as well as San Francisco where there is a substantial gay male population. By contrast, the working-age Hispanic population leans heavily toward men across most metros, and most metropolitan areas increased their Latino male populations relative to the female population between 1990 and 2000. This reflected a steady and widely dispersed settlement of newly arrived immigrants.

In general, the faster and newer a metropolitan area's Latino growth the higher its sex ratio climbed in the 1990s. In metros with a small Latino presence the Latino gender balance edged upwards from 100 to 108 between 1990 and 2000 (see Table 4). In metros that can be characterized as *new Latino destinations,* the Latino sex ratios surged from 107 in 1990 on average to 117 in 2000. Still more

Table 4. Sex Ratios* for Non-Latino and Latino Working Age Populations for Four Metropolitan Area Types, 2000

	Non-Latino		Latino	
	1990	2000	1990	2000
Established Latino Metros	96	96	101	101
New Latino Destinations	96	96	107	117
Fast-Growing Latino Hubs	100	99	114	113
Small Latino Places	94	95	100	108
Total	**96**	**96**	**104**	**107**

**Sex ratios are defined as the number of men in a given population per 100 women.*

Table 5. Latino Households by Household Type for Four Metropolitan Area Types, 2000

	Married Couple Families		Single Householder No Spouse		
	With Children	Without Children	With Children	Without Children	Nonfamily Households
Established Latino Metros	34%	19%	16%	12%	20%
New Latino Destinations	34%	18%	16%	10%	22%
Fast-Growing Latino Hubs	42%	17%	15%	9%	17%
Small Latino Places	28%	18%	18%	10%	26%
Total	**36%**	**18%**	**16%**	**11%**	**20%**

dramatically, the Latino sex ratio reached an average of 124 in the "hypergrowth" metros—meaning that Latinos outnumbered Latinas in these metropolitan areas by a full 24 percent. In this category, Raleigh-Durham's Latino population included an extraordinary 188 men for every 100 women, as large new flows of men arrived presumably without family members.

In keeping with these effects, where Latino residency is longstanding or Latino growth slower—as in many *established Latino metros*—sex ratios remained steady or declined as proportionally more Latino growth resulted from increases in families both from births and family reunification. For example, Chicago's gender ratio remained at 117 both in 1990 and 2000 as a steady gathering of families offset new immigrant arrivals. Likewise, sex ratios actually declined in maturing Hispanic communities such as Fresno, Los Angeles, and Ventura as the number of women there increased during the 1990s. In fact, in 7 of the 16 well established Latino communities women outnumbered men, indicating the arrival of many more women and families indicating more "mature" immigration.

Household composition—which reflects whether unrelated individuals or families predominate in a community—also reveals the demographic change that accompanies various growth patterns. Similar to a tilt toward higher sex ratios, a proliferation of unrelated individuals can be an indicator of new migration, however in the *small Latino places,* it most likely also indicates an aging population with elderly living alone. Conversely, a higher share of couple-headed households usually corresponds with longer-established communities. Examining household composition reveals that 22 percent of the households in *new Latino destinations* were nonfamily in 2000. *Fast-growing Latino hubs* and *established Latino metros* had the highest proportions of married couple households, and posted the lowest proportions of nonfamily households across all metro types. Furthermore, half or more of the households in these two metro types contained children under 18, including both couple-headed and single-headed households. *New Latino destinations,* for their part, had shares of married couple households and households with children comparable to the *established Latino metros,* suggesting some degree of secondary migration of family members (see Table 5).

In these ways, then, distinctive demographic variations across metropolitan areas confirm that Latino growth varies considerably from one locale to another. In newer settlement areas where many workers reside without families, the share of non-family Latino households in 2000 far exceeds that in metros where Latinos have long been a major segment of the population.

Meanwhile, some of the traditional Latino bastions are developing more stable Hispanic communities with a greater share of married couples with children. In this sense, Latino growth is an evolving process, and some cities are simply farther along in the process than others.

IV. Discussion

Taken together, these analyses of the nation's 100 largest metro areas reveal sharp differences in the pace and characteristics of Hispanic population growth across and within metropolitan areas. What is more, this assessment suggests that these variations result not only from demographic factors within Latino populations but from differences in the economic, social, and demographic trends influencing U.S. metropolitan areas. Accordingly, the list of metros that experienced the fastest Hispanic population growth in this analysis substantially overlaps with the list of those with the fastest total population growth. Conversely, the metros with the slowest overall growth recorded unusually slow Latino growth.

But this relationship should not be interpreted as simply a mechanical one in which Latino numbers rise merely as a function of overall growth. Las Vegas, for example, the fastest-growing metro in the nation between 1990 and 2000, grew by 200 percent during that period. However, the Hispanic population grew by 750 percent during those 20 years. That contrast—nearly a fourfold difference in growth rates—and similar spreads in many other metros suggests a complex relationship in which Hispanic growth can be spurred by overall growth even as it responds to its own dynamics.

For instance, in the past, a handful of central cities were the usual destination of immigrant newcomers from Latin America. The classic process entailed "trailblazers" leaving the ports of entry to seek opportunities in these "frontier" cities, largely in California, Texas, New York, and Illinois. Family, friends, and fellow countrymen followed initial migrants and complete immigrant communities subsequently developed over time (Saenz and Cready 1998, Massey et al. 1993). However, a somewhat different process is now developing with the rapid growth of Hispanics in *new Latino destinations.* Those coming from abroad are now skirting traditional areas and settling directly in new places that promise economic and housing opportunities. In this fashion, the new frontier zone that has developed in the past 20 years now encompasses many metro areas of the southeast (Hernández-León and Zúñiga 2000). And much of the Latino population growth is occurring outside of central cities directly in the suburbs.

Comparing the growth of the Latino population in central cities and suburbs within a metropolitan area also reveals distinctive patterns. Across the 100 metros, 61 percent of the increase in the Latino population occurred in the suburbs. As a result, the Census 2000 located 2.4 million more Latinos living in suburbs than in central cities. But again, not all the growth had the same quality. For example, the fastest suburban growth occurred in the *new Latino destinations,* while more established metros with larger bases and slower growth saw slower suburbanization. Yet then again, some of the metros with the most established Latino communities saw very rapid growth in adjoining jurisdictions, as occurred in the Long Island cities outside New York City.

Variations and contrasts like these, moreover, have clear public-policy implications. Most generally, the findings presented here suggest public officials responsible for planning the allocation of services and resources need to tailor their decision-making to the particular growth variation in their service area. Housing demand, the need for classroom space, the demand for public transportation—all of these will vary greatly not only with the rate of growth in the Latino population but also with the type of growth. For example, Raleigh-Durham can probably expect to see its new Latino population mature in the next decade, gain married couples, and then produce more full families, which will produce a "spike" in its school-age population. Los Angeles, by contrast, may soon see the crest of the demographic wave that has so challenged its school system for the past two decades. Across the country, one-size-fits-all problem solving will not suffice.

A further policy implication involves the abruptness of growth in locales like Raleigh-Durham and the other *new Latino destinations.* Specifically, the need for policy-makers to adapt quickly to vast change presents special challenges in metros that started with miniscule Latino populations and that experienced sudden, substantial growth. By contrast, the proximity of places like Orange County, CA or Suffolk County, NY to large and long-time urban concentrations of Hispanics has allowed for more gradual change and more time to prepare for the growth of a population characterized by low-wage workers, large families, and substantial numbers of adults with little proficiency in English.

V. Conclusion

This survey reveals not only the vast and widespread growth of America's Hispanic population but also the emergence of new forms of growth and new areas of settlement across the nation's metropolitan landscape.

Variation is pervasive within the broad trend of Latino growth. Indeed, the variegated patterns of growth identified here underscore the dynamism of the Hispanic population as it finds its place in American society. And yet, for all the flux and change on display in Census 2000, a look back to the 1990 and 1980 counts reveals distinct trends. These trends suggest, moreover, that the growth of the Latino

population does seem to be following discernable pathways likely to carry into the future.

To begin with, the great Latino gateways—Los Angeles, New York, Miami, and Chicago—will continue to house massive concentrations of Hispanics. Yet even so, the growth rates that slowed in these vast metros in the 1990s are not likely to pick up and may slow even further. Of course, this in no way means the Latino population will necessarily stabilize in those cities. Rather, the great mainstays may be seeing a continued influx of new arrivals and a simultaneous outflow of Latinos leaving in search of better jobs, housing, and quality of life in other destinations.

Meanwhile, the move to the suburban fringes will surely continue as growth slows in already-crowded central cities. Family composition and gender data as well as other indicators suggest that suburbs, particularly those on the periphery of these great gateways, are themselves becoming ports of entry where immigrants settle without ever having first stopped in the old urban barrios. Then, too, Latino families in search of the classic American suburban dream are also moving to the outskirts where housing is cheaper. Accordingly, more and more Latinos will be flocking to the suburbs in the coming decades.

In sum, the Latino population is on the move and spreading out as it grows. Most of the Hispanic population will remain concentrated in a handful of big metropolitan areas. And yet, much of the growth will take place elsewhere. On the periphery of big cities and in the suburbs of the nation's newest booming metros, the first wave of Latinos has already set up house and more are likely to come. In Southern California, Texas, the New York City region, and South Florida, the Hispanic share of the population will continue to increase albeit more slowly than before. But at the same time, whenever and wherever conditions lend themselves to overall population growth and robust economic development, Latinos will be a big part of the mix.

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Endnotes

1 Asians also registered a high growth rate between 1990 and 2000, and even exceeded Latino population increases by one method of enumeration. However, using consistent racial definitions for 1990 and 2000 based on the number of respondents declaring a single race (as opposed to multiple ones), Hispanic population growth outpaced Asian growth as well as that of all other racial groups.

2 The Latino population counts used in all tables in this report are derived from two sources. The 1980 and 1990 counts came from the "GeoLytics CensusCD 40 Years" (long-form variables) while the 2000 data were obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau website (short-form variables).

3 The U.S. Latino population is comprised of both foreign-born and native-born persons from the Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America and the Caribbean as well as Puerto Rico, a U.S. territory. The largest source countries are Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru.

4 The OMB designates the city with the largest population in each metropolitan area as a central city. Additional cities qualify for this designation if specified requirements are met concerning population size, commuting patterns and employment/residence ratios.

Appendix A. Latino Population and Share of Total Population for Four Metropolitan Area Types, 1980–2000
100 Largest Metropolitan Areas

	1980			1990			2000			Percent Change in Latino Population		
Metropolitan Area	Total	Latino	% Latino	Total	Latino	% Latino	Total	Latino	% Latino	1980 –90	1990 –00	1980 –00
Established Latino Metros												
Albuquerque, NM MSA	515,614	191,068	37%	589,131	217,340	37%	712,738	296,373	42%	14%	36%	55%
Chicago, IL PMSA	7,246,032	583,265	8%	7,410,858	819,676	11%	8,272,768	1,416,584	17%	41%	73%	143%
Denver, CO PMSA	1,428,836	164,158	11%	1,622,980	208,264	13%	2,109,282	397,236	19%	27%	91%	142%
El Paso, TX MSA	479,899	297,196	62%	591,610	411,248	70%	679,622	531,654	78%	38%	29%	79%
Fresno, CA MSA	577,737	167,448	29%	755,580	262,004	35%	922,516	406,151	44%	56%	55%	143%
Jersey City, NJ PMSA	556,972	145,249	26%	553,099	181,222	33%	608,975	242,123	40%	25%	34%	67%
Los Angeles— Long Beach, CA PMSA	7,477,503	2,065,503	28%	8,863,164	3,306,116	37%	9,519,338	4,242,213	45%	60%	28%	105%
McAllen, TX MSA	283,229	230,287	81%	383,545	326,923	85%	569,463	503,100	88%	42%	54%	118%
Miami, FL PMSA	1,625,781	580,025	36%	1,937,094	949,700	49%	2,253,362	1,291,737	57%	64%	36%	123%
New York, NY PMSA	8,274,961	1,465,421	18%	8,546,846	1,842,127	22%	9,314,235	2,339,836	25%	26%	27%	60%
Oakland, CA PMSA	1,761,759	185,829	11%	2,082,914	266,283	13%	2,392,557	441,686	18%	43%	66%	138%
San Antonio, TX MSA	1,088,710	487,447	45%	1,324,749	624,941	47%	1,592,383	816,037	51%	28%	31%	67%
San Francisco, CA PMSA	1,488,871	166,360	11%	1,603,678	226,734	14%	1,731,183	291,563	17%	36%	29%	75%
San Jose, CA PMSA	1,295,071	226,388	17%	1,497,577	307,113	21%	1,682,585	403,401	24%	36%	31%	78%
Tucson, AZ MSA	531,443	111,378	21%	666,880	161,053	24%	843,746	247,578	29%	45%	54%	122%
Ventura, CA PMSA	529,174	113,184	21%	669,016	175,414	26%	753,197	251,734	33%	55%	44%	122%
	35,161,592	**7,180,206**	**20%**	**39,098,721**	**10,286,158**	**26%**	**43,957,950**	**14,119,006**	**32%**	**43%**	**37%**	**97%**
New Latino Destinations												
Albany, NY MSA	824,729	8,351	1%	861,424	14,440	2%	875,583	23,798	3%	73%	65%	185%
Allentown, PA MSA	551,052	14,022	3%	595,081	26,697	4%	637,958	50,607	8%	90%	90%	261%
Atlanta, GA MSA	2,233,324	24,550	1%	2,959,950	55,045	2%	4,112,198	268,851	7%	124%	388%	995%
Baltimore, MD PMSA	2,199,531	20,688	1%	2,382,172	28,538	1%	2,552,994	51,329	2%	38%	80%	148%
Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA	1,292,970	90,705	7%	1,278,440	145,094	11%	1,373,167	237,869	17%	60%	64%	162%
Birmingham, AL MSA	815,286	5,858	1%	840,140	3,520	0%	921,106	16,598	2%	-40%	372%	183%
Boston, MA-NH PMSA	3,148,490	72,698	2%	3,227,633	130,896	4%	3,406,829	202,513	6%	91%	47%	181%
Charlotte, NC—SC MSA	971,391	7,469	1%	1,162,093	9,817	1%	1,499,293	77,092	5%	31%	685%	932%
Columbus, OH MSA	1,214,297	8,783	1%	1,345,450	10,003	1%	1,540,157	28,115	2%	14%	181%	220%
Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	1,018,200	40,093	4%	1,255,488	105,668	8%	1,623,018	271,652	17%	164%	157%	578%
Fort Worth-Arlington, TX PMSA	990,852	72,336	7%	1,361,034	147,431	11%	1,702,625	309,851	18%	104%	110%	328%
Grand Rapids, MI MSA	840,824	18,005	2%	937,891	27,195	3%	1,088,514	68,916	6%	51%	153%	283%
Greensboro- Winston Salem, NC MSA	951,170	5,858	1%	1,050,304	6,844	1%	1,251,509	62,210	5%	17%	809%	962%
Greenville, SC MSA	743,284	5,261	1%	830,563	5,712	1%	962,441	26,167	3%	9%	358%	397%
Harrisburg, PA MSA	555,158	5,998	1%	587,986	9,336	2%	629,401	19,557	3%	56%	109%	226%

	1980			1990			2000			Percent Change in Latino Population		
Metropolitan Area	Total	Latino	% Latino	Total	Latino	% Latino	Total	Latino	% Latino	1980 –90	1990 –00	1980 –00
Hartford, CT MSA	1,080,581	46,120	4%	1,157,617	77,132	7%	1,183,110	113,540	10%	75%	42%	148%
Indianapolis, IN MSA	1,305,911	9,812	1%	1,380,491	11,918	1%	1,607,486	42,994	3%	21%	261%	338%
Jacksonville, FL MSA	722,252	14,150	2%	906,727	22,206	2%	1,100,491	42,122	4%	57%	90%	198%
Kansas City, MO-KS MSA	1,449,374	33,807	2%	1,582,875	45,199	3%	1,776,062	92,910	5%	34%	106%	175%
Knoxville, TN MSA	546,488	3,499	1%	585,960	3,433	1%	687,249	8,628	1%	-2%	151%	147%
Las Vegas, NV—AZ MSA	528,000	37,767	7%	852,737	86,570	10%	1,563,282	322,038	21%	129%	272%	753%
Little Rock, AR MSA	474,484	4,118	1%	513,117	4,741	1%	583,845	12,337	2%	15%	160%	200%
Louisville, KY—IN MSA	953,850	5,631	1%	948,829	5,040	1%	1,025,598	16,479	2%	-10%	227%	193%
Memphis, TN—AR—MS MSA	938,777	8,754	1%	1,007,306	7,546	1%	1,135,614	27,520	2%	-14%	265%	214%
Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ PMSA	886,383	39,380	4%	1,019,835	70,021	7%	1,169,641	131,122	11%	78%	87%	233%
Milwaukee, WI PMSA	1,397,143	34,993	3%	1,432,149	48,276	3%	1,500,741	94,511	6%	38%	96%	170%
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA	2,198,190	22,985	1%	2,538,834	34,334	1%	2,968,806	99,121	3%	49%	189%	331%
Monmouth-Ocean, NJ PMSA	849,211	21,237	3%	986,327	35,619	4%	1,126,217	63,813	6%	68%	79%	200%
Nashville, TN MSA	850,505	5,500	1%	985,026	7,250	1%	1,231,311	40,139	3%	32%	454%	630%
Nassau-Suffolk, NY PMSA	2,605,813	102,776	4%	2,609,212	157,118	6%	2,753,913	282,693	10%	53%	80%	175%
New Haven, CT PMSA	500,534	18,358	4%	530,240	30,629	6%	542,149	53,331	10%	79%	62%	190%
Norfolk—Virginia Beach—Newport News, VA—NC MSA	1,200,998	18,640	2%	1,443,244	31,551	2%	1,569,541	48,963	3%	69%	55%	163%
Oklahoma City, OK MSA	860,969	19,174	2%	958,839	32,851	3%	1,083,346	72,998	7%	71%	122%	281%
Omaha, NE-IA MSA	605,419	12,685	2%	639,580	15,419	2%	716,998	39,735	6%	22%	158%	213%
Orlando, FL MSA	804,925	28,321	4%	1,224,852	98,812	8%	1,644,561	271,627	17%	249%	175%	859%
Portland—Vancouver, OR—WA PMSA	1,333,572	26,544	2%	1,515,452	49,344	3%	1,918,009	142,444	7%	86%	189%	437%
Providence, RI-MA MSA	1,076,557	21,526	2%	1,134,365	45,893	4%	1,188,613	93,868	8%	114%	98%	325%
Raleigh-Durham, NC MSA	665,236	5,670	1%	855,545	9,923	1%	1,187,941	72,580	6%	75%	631%	1180%
Richmond, VA MSA	761,311	6,942	1%	865,640	8,788	1%	996,512	23,283	2%	27%	165%	235%
Salt Lake City, UT MSA	910,222	44,720	5%	1,072,227	61,269	6%	1,333,914	144,600	11%	37%	136%	223%
Sarasota, FL MSA	350,693	6,064	2%	489,483	15,186	3%	589,959	38,682	7%	150%	155%	538%
Scranton, PA MSA	659,387	2,588	0%	638,466	3,239	1%	624,776	7,467	1%	25%	131%	189%
Seattle—Bellevue, WA PMSA	1,651,517	33,848	2%	2,033,156	53,479	3%	2,414,616	126,675	5%	58%	137%	274%
Springfield, MA MSA	569,774	24,708	4%	588,043	48,024	8%	591,932	74,227	13%	98%	53%	203%
Tacoma, WA PMSA	485,643	13,242	3%	586,203	19,445	3%	700,820	38,621	6%	47%	99%	192%
Tampa—St. Petersburg—Clearwater, FL MSA	1,613,603	80,433	5%	2,067,959	136,027	7%	2,395,997	248,642	10%	69%	83%	209%
Tulsa, OK MSA	657,173	9,564	1%	708,954	14,498	2%	803,235	38,570	5%	52%	166%	303%
Washington, DC—MD—VA—WV PMSA	3,477,873	96,767	3%	4,223,485	221,458	5%	4,923,153	432,003	9%	129%	95%	346%
West Palm Beach, FL MSA	576,863	28,307	5%	863,518	65,028	8%	1,131,184	140,675	12%	130%	116%	397%
Wichita, KS MSA	441,844	12,651	3%	485,270	18,437	4%	545,220	40,353	7%	46%	119%	219%
Wilmington, DE—MD PMSA	458,545	7,265	2%	513,293	11,701	2%	586,216	27,599	5%	61%	136%	280%
	54,800,178	**1,309,221**	**2%**	**62,620,505**	**2,333,640**	**4%**	**73,078,851**	**5,282,035**	**7%**	**78%**	**126%**	**303%**

	1980			1990			2000			Percent Change in Latino Population		
Metropolitan Area	Total	Latino	% Latino	Total	Latino	% Latino	Total	Latino	% Latino	1980–90	1990–00	1980–00
Fast-Growing Latino Hubs												
Austin, TX MSA	585,051	105,455	18%	846,227	174,482	21%	1,249,763	327,760	26%	65%	88%	211%
Bakersfield, CA MSA	403,089	87,119	22%	543,477	150,558	28%	661,645	254,036	38%	73%	69%	192%
Dallas, TX PMSA	2,055,232	176,968	9%	2,676,248	364,397	14%	3,519,176	810,499	23%	106%	122%	358%
Houston, TX PMSA	2,754,304	401,602	15%	3,322,025	697,208	21%	4,177,646	1,248,586	30%	74%	79%	211%
Orange County, CA PMSA	1,932,709	285,722	15%	2,410,556	556,957	23%	2,846,289	875,579	31%	95%	57%	206%
Phoenix—Mesa, AZ MSA	1,599,970	226,194	14%	2,238,480	374,275	17%	3,251,876	817,012	25%	65%	118%	261%
Riverside—San Bernardino, CA PMSA	1,558,182	289,803	19%	2,588,793	675,918	26%	3,254,821	1,228,962	38%	133%	82%	324%
Sacramento, CA PMSA	986,440	86,145	9%	1,340,010	140,153	10%	1,628,197	234,475	14%	63%	67%	172%
San Diego, CA MSA	1,861,846	274,530	15%	2,498,016	498,578	20%	2,813,833	750,965	27%	82%	51%	174%
Stockton, CA MSA	347,342	66,704	19%	480,628	108,987	23%	563,598	172,073	31%	63%	58%	158%
Vallejo, CA PMSA	334,402	33,298	10%	451,186	59,576	13%	518,821	99,014	19%	79%	66%	197%
	14,418,567	**2,033,540**	**14%**	**19,395,646**	**3,801,089**	**20%**	**24,485,665**	**6,818,961**	**28%**	**87%**	**79%**	**235%**
Small Latino Places												
Akron, OH PMSA	660,328	3,000	0%	657,575	3,844	1%	694,960	5,874	1%	28%	53%	96%
Ann Arbor, MI PMSA	454,985	9,101	2%	490,058	11,624	2%	578,736	17,676	3%	28%	52%	94%
Baton Rouge, LA MSA	494,151	8,838	2%	528,264	7,280	1%	602,894	10,576	2%	-18%	45%	20%
Buffalo, NY MSA	1,242,826	15,700	1%	1,189,288	23,521	2%	1,170,111	33,967	3%	50%	44%	116%
Charleston, SC MSA	430,462	6,143	1%	506,875	7,150	1%	549,033	13,091	2%	16%	83%	113%
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN PMSA	1,467,664	8,313	1%	1,526,092	7,639	1%	1,646,395	17,717	1%	-8%	132%	113%
Cleveland, OH PMSA	2,277,949	40,681	2%	2,202,069	49,617	2%	2,250,871	74,862	3%	22%	51%	84%
Columbia, SC MSA	410,088	5,370	1%	453,331	5,740	1%	536,691	12,859	2%	7%	124%	139%
Dayton, OH MSA	942,083	6,038	1%	951,270	6,612	1%	950,558	11,329	1%	10%	71%	88%
Detroit, MI PMSA	4,387,783	70,502	2%	4,266,654	78,454	2%	4,441,551	128,075	3%	11%	63%	82%
Gary, IN PMSA	642,781	46,449	7%	604,526	47,116	8%	631,362	66,207	10%	1%	41%	43%
Honolulu, HI MSA	762,565	54,619	7%	836,231	54,680	7%	876,156	58,729	7%	0%	7%	8%
Mobile, AL MSA	443,536	4,599	1%	476,923	4,353	1%	540,258	7,353	1%	-5%	69%	60%
New Orleans, LA MSA	1,303,800	51,203	4%	1,285,270	52,563	4%	1,337,726	58,545	4%	3%	11%	14%
Newark, NJ PMSA	1,963,388	131,805	7%	1,915,928	183,986	10%	2,032,989	270,557	13%	40%	47%	105%
Philadelphia, PA-NJ PMSA	4,781,494	118,624	2%	4,922,175	165,844	3%	5,100,931	258,606	5%	40%	56%	118%
Pittsburgh, PA MSA	2,571,223	12,910	1%	2,394,811	11,881	0%	2,358,695	17,100	1%	-8%	44%	32%
Rochester, NY MSA	1,030,630	19,383	2%	1,062,470	29,712	3%	1,098,201	47,559	4%	53%	60%	145%
St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	2,414,091	22,485	1%	2,492,525	25,383	1%	2,603,607	39,677	2%	13%	56%	76%
Syracuse, NY MSA	722,865	6,755	1%	742,177	8,882	1%	732,117	15,112	2%	31%	70%	124%
Toledo, OH MSA	616,864	16,656	3%	614,128	18,675	3%	618,203	27,125	4%	12%	45%	63%
Youngstown, OH MSA	644,922	6,971	1%	600,895	7,246	1%	594,746	10,743	2%	4%	48%	54%
	30,666,478	**666,145**	**2%**	**30,719,535**	**811,802**	**3%**	**31,946,791**	**1,203,339**	**4%**	**22%**	**48%**	**81%**
Total (All Metro Area Types)	**135,046,815**	**11,189,112**	**8%**	**151,834,407**	**17,232,689**	**11%**	**173,469,257**	**27,423,341**	**16%**	**54%**	**59%**	**145%**

Italics denote hypergrowth metros which had Latino population growth over 300 percent between 1980 and 2000

Appendix B. Growth in Latino Population, Central Cities, and Suburbs for Four Metropolitan Area Types, 1990–2000
100 Largest Metropolitan Areas

Metropolitan Area	Metro Area			Central City			Suburb		
	1990	2000	% Chng	1990	2000	% Chng	1990	2000	% Chng
Established Latino Metros									
Albuquerque, NM MSA	217,340	296,373	36%	131,465	179,075	36%	85,875	117,298	37%
Chicago, IL PMSA	819,676	1,416,584	73%	535,315	753,644	41%	284,361	662,940	133%
Denver, CO PMSA	208,264	397,236	91%	106,554	175,704	65%	101,710	221,532	118%
El Paso, TX MSA	411,248	531,654	29%	355,260	431,875	22%	55,988	99,779	78%
Fresno, CA MSA	262,004	406,151	55%	102,930	170,520	66%	159,074	235,631	48%
Jersey City, NJ PMSA	181,222	242,123	34%	54,231	67,952	25%	126,991	174,171	37%
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA	3,306,116	4,242,213	28%	1,470,354	1,884,165	28%	1,835,762	2,358,048	28%
McAllen, TX MSA	326,923	503,100	54%	64,572	85,427	32%	262,351	417,673	59%
Miami, FL PMSA	949,700	1,291,737	36%	223,438	238,351	7%	726,262	1,053,386	45%
New York, NY PMSA	1,842,127	2,339,836	27%	1,737,927	2,160,554	24%	104,200	179,282	72%
Oakland, CA PMSA	266,283	441,686	66%	49,267	87,467	78%	217,016	354,219	63%
San Antonio, TX MSA	624,941	816,037	31%	517,974	671,394	30%	106,967	144,643	35%
San Francisco, CA PMSA	226,734	291,563	29%	96,640	109,504	13%	130,094	182,059	40%
San Jose, CA PMSA	307,113	403,401	31%	204,012	269,989	32%	103,101	133,412	29%
Tucson, AZ MSA	161,053	247,578	54%	117,267	173,868	48%	43,786	73,710	68%
Ventura, CA PMSA	175,414	251,734	44%	15,935	24,573	54%	159,479	227,161	42%
	10,286,158	**14,119,006**	**37%**	**5,783,141**	**7,484,062**	**29%**	**4,503,017**	**6,634,944**	**47%**
New Latino Destinations									
Albany, NY MSA	14,440	23,798	65%	3,225	5,349	66%	11,215	18,449	65%
Allentown, PA MSA	26,697	50,607	90%	11,822	26,058	120%	14,875	24,549	65%
Atlanta, GA MSA	55,045	268,851	388%	7,640	18,720	145%	47,405	250,131	428%
Baltimore, MD PMSA	28,538	51,329	80%	6,997	11,061	58%	21,541	40,268	87%
Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA	145,094	237,869	64%	*	*	*	145,094	237,869	64%
Birmingham, AL MSA	3,520	16,598	372%	1,175	3,764	220%	2,345	12,834	447%
Boston, MA-NH PMSA	130,896	202,513	55%	59,692	85,089	43%	71,204	117,424	65%
Charlotte, NC-SC MSA	9,817	77,092	685%	5,261	39,800	657%	4,556	37,292	719%
Columbus, OH MSA	10,003	28,115	181%	5,968	17,471	193%	4,035	10,644	164%
Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA	105,668	271,652	157%	10,574	14,406	36%	95,094	257,246	171%
Fort Worth-Arlington, TX PMSA	147,431	309,851	110%	107,987	220,185	104%	39,444	89,666	127%
Grand Rapids, MI MSA	27,195	68,916	153%	8,447	25,818	206%	18,748	43,098	130%
Greensboro- Winston Salem, NC MSA	6,844	62,210	809%	2,415	25,785	968%	4,429	36,425	722%
Greenville, SC MSA	5,712	26,167	358%	567	1,927	240%	5,145	24,240	371%
Harrisburg, PA MSA	9,336	19,557	109%	3,738	5,724	53%	5,598	13,833	147%
Hartford, CT MSA	77,132	113,540	47%	43,372	49,260	14%	33,760	64,280	90%
Indianapolis, IN MSA	11,918	42,994	261%	7,463	30,636	311%	4,455	12,358	177%
Jacksonville, FL MSA	22,206	42,122	90%	15,572	30,594	96%	6,634	11,528	74%
Kansas City, MO-KS MSA	45,199	92,910	106%	27,154	55,243	103%	28,380	37,667	33%
Knoxville, TN MSA	3,433	8,628	151%	986	2,751	179%	2,447	5,877	140%
Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	86,570	322,038	272%	31,249	112,962	261%	55,321	209,076	278%
Little Rock, AR MSA	4,741	12,337	160%	1,427	4,889	243%	3,314	7,448	125%
Louisville, KY-IN MSA	5,040	16,479	227%	1,490	4,755	219%	3,550	11,724	230%
Memphis, TN-AR-MS MSA	7,546	27,520	265%	4,011	19,317	382%	3,535	8,203	132%
Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ PMSA	70,021	131,122	87%	*	*	*	70,021	131,122	87%
Milwaukee, WI PMSA	48,276	94,511	96%	37,420	71,646	91%	10,856	22,865	111%
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA	34,334	99,121	189%	17,627	51,890	194%	16,707	47,231	183%
Monmouth-Ocean, NJ PMSA	35,619	63,813	79%	*	*	*	35,619	63,813	79%
Nashville, TN MSA	7,250	40,139	454%	4,131	25,774	524%	3,119	14,365	361%
Nassau-Suffolk, NY PMSA	157,118	282,693	80%	*	*	*	157,118	282,693	80%
New Haven, CT PMSA	30,629	53,331	74%	16,350	26,443	62%	14,279	26,888	88%

Metropolitan Area	Metro Area			Central City			Suburb		
	1990	2000	% Chng	1990	2000	% Chng	1990	2000	% Chng
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA-NC MSA	31,551	48,963	55%	23,930	34,280	43%	7,621	14,683	93%
Oklahoma City, OK MSA	32,851	72,998	122%	21,148	51,368	143%	11,703	21,630	85%
Omaha, NE-IA MSA	15,419	39,735	158%	9,703	29,397	203%	5,716	10,338	81%
Orlando, FL MSA	98,812	271,627	175%	14,121	32,510	130%	84,691	239,117	182%
Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA PMSA	49,344	142,444	189%	14,693	45,093	207%	34,651	97,351	181%
Providence, RI-MA MSA	45,893	93,868	105%	23,744	52,146	120%	22,149	41,722	88%
Raleigh-Durham, NC MSA	9,923	72,580	631%	4,550	35,320	676%	5,373	37,260	593%
Richmond, VA MSA	8,788	23,283	165%	1,744	5,074	191%	7,044	18,209	159%
Salt Lake City, UT MSA	61,269	144,600	136%	15,220	34,254	125%	46,049	110,346	140%
Sarasota, FL MSA	15,186	38,682	155%	2,282	6,283	175%	12,904	32,399	151%
Scranton, PA MSA	3,239	7,467	131%	520	1,999	284%	2,719	5,468	101%
Seattle-Bellevue, WA PMSA	53,479	126,675	137%	19,097	35,546	86%	34,382	91,129	165%
Springfield, MA MSA	48,024	74,227	55%	25,642	41,343	61%	22,382	32,884	47%
Tacoma, WA PMSA	19,445	38,621	99%	6,270	13,262	112%	13,175	25,359	92%
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	136,027	248,642	83%	49,699	78,778	59%	86,328	169,864	97%
Tulsa, OK MSA	14,498	38,570	166%	9,340	28,111	201%	5,158	10,459	103%
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA	221,458	432,003	95%	31,358	44,953	43%	190,100	387,050	104%
West Palm Beach, FL MSA	65,028	140,675	116%	9,200	14,955	63%	55,828	125,720	125%
Wichita, KS MSA	18,437	40,353	119%	14,314	33,112	131%	4,123	7,241	76%
Wilmington, DE-MD PMSA	11,701	27,599	136%	4,809	7,148	49%	6,892	20,451	197%
	2,333,640	**5,282,035**	**126%**	**745,144**	**1,612,249**	**116%**	**1,598,831**	**3,669,786**	**130%**
Fast-Growing Latino Hubs									
Austin, TX MSA	174,482	327,760	88%	105,162	200,579	91%	69,320	127,181	83%
Bakersfield, CA MSA	150,558	254,036	69%	35,033	80,170	129%	115,525	173,866	51%
Dallas, TX PMSA	364,397	810,499	122%	204,712	422,587	106%	159,685	387,912	143%
Houston, TX PMSA	697,208	1,248,586	79%	442,943	730,865	65%	254,265	517,721	104%
Orange County, CA PMSA	556,957	875,579	57%	279,238	421,010	51%	277,719	454,569	64%
Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	374,275	817,012	118%	224,667	528,253	135%	149,608	288,759	93%
Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA	675,918	1,228,962	82%	114,154	185,337	62%	561,764	1,043,625	86%
Sacramento, CA PMSA	140,153	234,475	67%	58,716	87,974	50%	81,437	146,501	80%
San Diego, CA MSA	498,578	750,965	51%	223,616	310,752	39%	274,962	440,213	60%
Stockton, CA MSA	108,987	172,073	58%	50,370	79,217	57%	58,617	92,856	58%
Vallejo, CA PMSA	59,576	99,014	66%	11,201	18,591	66%	48,375	80,423	66%
	3,801,089	**6,818,961**	**79%**	**1,749,812**	**3,065,335**	**75%**	**2,051,277**	**3,753,626**	**83%**
Small Latino Places									
Akron, OH PMSA	3,844	5,874	53%	1,503	2,513	67%	2,341	3,361	44%
Ann Arbor, MI PMSA	11,624	17,676	52%	2,629	3,814	45%	8,995	13,862	54%
Baton Rouge, LA MSA	7,280	10,576	45%	3,462	3,918	13%	3,818	6,658	74%
Buffalo, NY MSA	23,521	33,967	44%	15,287	22,076	44%	8,234	11,891	44%
Charleston, SC MSA	7,150	13,091	83%	504	1,462	190%	6,646	11,629	75%
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN PMSA	7,639	17,717	132%	2,319	4,230	82%	5,320	13,487	154%
Cleveland, OH PMSA	49,617	74,862	51%	22,330	34,728	56%	27,287	40,134	47%
Columbia, SC MSA	5,740	12,859	124%	2,033	3,520	73%	3,707	9,339	152%
Dayton, OH MSA	6,612	11,329	71%	1,204	2,626	118%	5,408	8,703	61%
Detroit, MI PMSA	78,454	128,075	63%	27,157	47,167	74%	51,297	80,908	58%
Gary, IN PMSA	47,116	66,207	41%	6,282	5,065	-19%	40,834	61,142	50%
Honolulu, HI MSA	54,680	58,729	7%	15,450	16,229	5%	39,230	42,500	8%
Mobile, AL MSA	4,353	7,353	69%	2,152	2,828	31%	2,201	4,525	106%
New Orleans, LA MSA	52,563	58,545	11%	15,900	14,826	-7%	36,663	43,719	19%
Newark, NJ PMSA	183,986	270,557	47%	69,204	80,622	16%	114,782	189,935	65%
Philadelphia, PA-NJ PMSA	165,844	258,606	56%	84,186	128,928	53%	81,658	129,678	59%
Pittsburgh, PA MSA	11,881	17,100	44%	3,415	4,425	30%	8,466	12,675	50%
Rochester, NY MSA	29,712	47,559	60%	18,936	28,032	48%	10,776	19,527	81%

Metropolitan Area	Metro Area			Central City			Suburb		
	1990	2000	% Chng	1990	2000	% Chng	1990	2000	% Chng
St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	25,383	39,677	56%	4,850	7,022	45%	20,533	32,655	59%
Syracuse, NY MSA	8,882	15,112	70%	4,177	7,768	86%	4,705	7,344	56%
Toledo, OH MSA	18,675	27,125	45%	11,958	17,141	43%	6,717	9,984	49%
Youngstown, OH MSA	7,246	10,743	48%	3,596	4,282	19%	3,650	6,461	77%
	811,802	**1,203,339**	**48%**	**318,534**	**443,222**	**39%**	**493,268**	**760,117**	**54%**
TOTAL (All Metro Area Types)	**17,232,689**	**27,423,341**	**59%**	**8,596,631**	**12,604,868**	**47%**	**8,646,393**	**14,818,473**	**71%**

** Metros with no central city*

Italics denote hypergrowth metros with Latino population growth over 300 percent between 1980 and 2000.

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